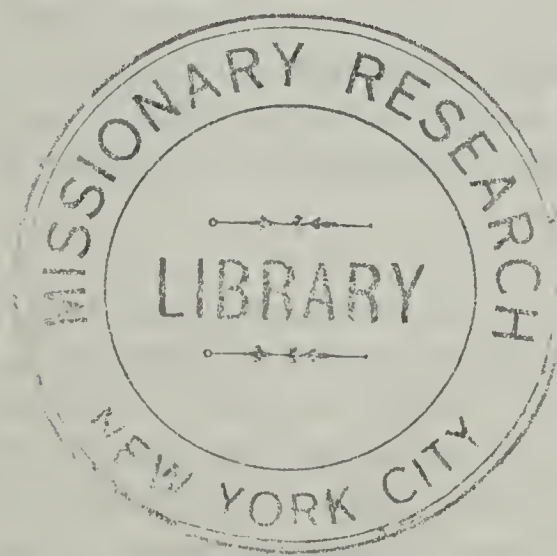


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History of the Japanese Translations
of the Bible



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HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

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by James Fullerton Gressitt

(Studies in the history of English Learning in Japan; Literature)

Part 1: The Introduction of Catholicism into Japan and the Translation of Portions of the Bible into Japanese

According to the Christian Scriptures, the risen Christ gave command to His disciples, saying, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." From the time this command was given it has been faithfully observed by those who believed in Christ, and on land and sea, whenever a new way has been opened, his followers have pushed forward over trackless mountains and plains and across rough seas to preach the Gospel of God's Kingdom. To our country in 1549 came Francis Xavier, preaching Christianity first in Kagoshima. From Kyushu Christianity was propagated with extraordinary energy as far as Central Japan. In its most flourishing period there were 300 missionaries, over 200 churches, and about a quarter of a million believers; but finally, in 1637-38, with the revolt of Amakusa, the propagation of Roman Catholicism in our country came to an end.

In the period when, after its introduction, Roman Catholicism was thriving, the Greek and Latin classics were read in their schools in each district by the Japanese believers, some of whom even became teachers of Latin; and there remain over twenty publications of the Society of Jesus printed in Japan in this period. The first of these is the "Selections from the Acts of the Saints", published in 1591 at the school in Kazusa, Hizen province. A fair number of the publications are in romanized Japanese. An example is the "Doctrina Christan" ("Christian Doctrine"), published in 1592 at the school in Amakusa; portions of the Bible translated into Japanese are included, e.g., in chapter 3 of this work, the "Lord's Prayer"; in chapter 7, the "Ten Commandments"; in chapter 12, the "Beatitudes" of Matthew 5: 3-10. The following quotation is the "Lord's Prayer", to which is appended the text in Japanese as rendered by Prof. S. Hashimoto of Tokyo Imperial University:

(In this romanization v=u; x=sh; f=h; and f is the so-called "long s".)

Ten ni maximafu vareraga von voya mi na uo tattomare tamaye: mi yo qitari tamaye. Ten ni voite go Vontade no mama naru gotoqu, chi ni voite mo araxe tamaye. Vareraga nichinichi no von yaxinai uo connichi ataye tabi tamaye. Varera yori voitaru fito ni yuruxi mosu gotoqu; varera voitatematçuru coto uo yuruxi tamaye. Varera uo Tentaça ni fanaxi tamo coto nacare: varera uo qeoacu yori nogaxi tamaye. Amen.

In the "Giya do Peccador" ("Guide for Sinners") there occur translations of parts of the 27th Psalm, verses 1 and 3.

And in the same work a translation of Matthew 1:21 is quoted:

Santa Maria yori mi-tanjo nasarubeki wakagimi wa. Issai ningen wo shoaku yori nogashi tamaubeki on-jo nite mashimasuba: Js (Jesusu) to yobi tamaubeshi.¹

Furthermore, in company with Xavier on his arrival in Japan came Yajiro, a Japanese who at Goa, in India, had become a Christian and was baptized as Paulo de Santa Fé (Paul of the Holy Faith). This Yajiro is said to have translated the Gospel of Matthew for his teacher in Goa before coming to Japan, but this translation is not extant. It was probably, if actually translated, meant by Xavier to be used in evangelizing the Japanese. Yajiro studied in the school at Goa and seems not to have been an illiterate person, yet reasoning from the fact that the translator of Xavier's "Summary of Doctrine" failed to convey the meaning of the original and produced a work that invited the derision of people of intelligence, it is impossible not to be sceptical regarding his translation of Matthew. It is possible that it was no more than a translation of a portion, or of a resume, of the Gospel.

In Neumann's "Ostasiatische Geschichte" (p. 330), the statement that a translation of the New Testament was published in Kyoto prior to the year 1613 was likely derived from an entry in the diary of Captain John Saris, who came on a mission to open trade between Japan and England, to the effect that in the Christian school in Kyoto there was a Japanese translation of the New Testament. However, in the "Literature of the Southern Barbarians", a volume in the Iwanami Library of Japanese Literature, Dr. Niimura of the Kyoto Imperial University says of the statement: "This is probably an error. The Catholics guarded the Latin Scriptures and there was no instance of their being used in Japan directly for reading. Hence there could not be a Japanese translation." This is probably the truth of the matter.

Thus, in the period of about one hundred years, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, during which the Roman Catholic missionaries were active in Japan, it appears that neither the Old nor the New Testament, nor definite portions of them, were translated into Japanese: merely scattered passages were quoted in the books that were published. The "Collection of Scripture Passages" and the "Reference List of Bible Quotations" contained in the "Kirishitan Bungakushō" ("Christian Literature") by Prof. Muraoka Noritsugu² of the Tohoku Imperial University, is useful for reference on this subject.

A reference to the early bringing of the Bible to Japan under non-Catholic agency occurs in a letter written by Will Adams to Augustine Spalding in Bantam (quoted in "Letters Written by the English Residents in Japan, 1611-1623", edited by N. Murakami and K. Murakawa, Part I, 3), in which he thanks Mr. Spalding for "a byble and three other books." This Bible, as Mr. Muto Chozo² conjectures in his "Studies in the History of Japanese-English Intercourse", (published in April, 1937), was probably a copy of the English translation of the Bible—the King James "Authorized Version", which was completed in 1611.

1. This romanization is modern. (Ed.)

2. In this translation surnames are followed by given names. (Ed.)

Part II: Japanese Translations Of The Bible Made Abroad And
In The Ryukyu (Loo Choo) Islands

(1) Translations Made Abroad

The circumstances being as stated above, the history of the extant translations of certain portions or of the whole Bible begins with the translation work under Protestant auspices, the earliest being the translations made abroad. The first Protestant to make a translation of a part of the Bible into Japanese was Dr. Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803-1851). The facts regarding Dr. Gützlaff are given in an article by Mr. Shigehisa Atsutarō¹, lecturer in the College of Commerce of Dōshisha University, in the "Dōshisha Kōshō Ronsō", Vol. 9, Jan. 1932. I will set down the main points in Gützlaff's career, chiefly gleaned from this article, and then in more detail the facts regarding his translation of the Bible into Japanese. Dr. Gützlaff was born in Prussia, Germany, studied in the Missionary Training School in Berlin, with the intention of going as a missionary to the Far East under the Netherlands Missionary Society, prepared further in Paris and London, and finally set out for the Far East in 1827 at the age of twenty-six.²

In Batavia he became acquainted with W. H. Medhurst, the compiler of the first English-Japanese: Japanese-English dictionary, under whom he studied Malayan and Chinese. Soon he went to Siam and translated the Gospels of Luke and (possibly) John into Siamese, publishing them at Singapore. Thereafter, he resigned from the Netherlands Missionary Society and, aided by the London Missionary Society, went to Macao and preached in the coastal regions of Southern China, making voyages to Formosa, Korea, and the Ryukyu (Loo Choo) Islands. In Korea he studied the language of the people, and in Ryukyu, as he records in his diary, he used to approach the Japanese ships that chanced to touch there and distribute Christian papers and books. It was in August, 1832, that he arrived in the Ryukyu Islands. In July, 1837 he went to Japan on board the Morrison, but did not land. The Morrison, while Japan was still closed to foreign ships, carried seven ship-wrecked Japanese, including Rikomatsu, Otokichi, and others, to return them to their country, and to utilize the opportunity for opening evangelistic work. Arriving in the bay of Yedo, they were fired upon. Next, going to Kagoshima Bay, the seven Japanese were sent ashore to explain the circumstances; but they were not allowed to land: they were sent back to the ship, and the Morrison, which had from the beginning of the voyage been unarmed, was forced to leave.

Dr. Gützlaff was an able scholar in Chinese and was an intimate friend of Robert Morrison, the representative of the London Missionary Society (1782-1834); and after the latter's death, he became the successor of Morrison as an official of the British Government in Canton and Hong Kong. At the time of his death at Hong Kong in 1851 at the age of forty-eight, he was Chinese secretary to the Hong Kong Government. However, even during his life as an official he devoted himself earnestly to evangelism. It was after he became a government official, in 1835, that in co-operation with Medhurst and others, he revised the Chinese New Testament.

1. In this translation surnames are followed by given names. (Ed.)

2. Other records show that he arrived in Batavia in Jan. 1827, at the age of twenty-three-ABS

Later he revised the Chinese Old Testament, and even published it at his own expense.

Dr. Gützlaff was, as stated, zealous in evangelism and possessed of linguistic ability. His acquaintance with the Japanese language began in 1836-37 at Macao, his teachers of Japanese being three shipwrecked sailors. These three Japanese sailors, according to the explanation given by Darlow and Moule in their 'Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society', were from a ship that drifted across the Pacific Ocean in 1831. The men who remained alive landed at the mouth of the Columbia River, made their way across Canada, crossed finally to London, were sent thence to China, and landed in December, 1835 at Macao, where they received assistance from Dr. Gützlaff. The Gospel of John and the Epistles of John which he translated after learning Japanese from these men were published in 1837 from the press of the American Mission at Singapore. However, on the original edition no date is printed: the date 1837 is derived from Darlow and Moule's "Catalogue";¹ but, as will be noted later, Dr. Hepburn and others assume the date to have been 1839-40. As may be expected from the foregoing account, Dr. Gützlaff's translation of the Gospel of John could not be in perfect Japanese; but as the first complete single book of the Bible translated into Japanese, at least among the versions extant, it merits our respect.

Copies of Dr. Gützlaff's translation of John's Gospel are in the possession of Dr. Ishibashi Chishin of Tokyo Imperial University, the Japan Bible Society, the Tenri Library at Tambaichi, Nara prefecture, and Dōshisha University. However, the copy which I saw was in the collection of the Nippon School of Theology at Yodobashi, Tokyo. On a slip affixed to the paper cover of this copy, in the handwriting of Dr. Hepburn, is inscribed, "A copy of the Gospel of John translated by Rev. Dr. Gützlaff with the assistance of a shipwrecked Japanese and printed on blocks at the press of the A.B.C.F.M. in Singapore about 1839 or 1840." (The connection of Dr. Hepburn with this translation will be related later.) The cover is yellow. In the center near the top is printed "John's Gospel"; on the lower right side, "Copyright, Chien Hsia Shu Yuan, Singapore"; and on the lower left side the Chinese form of the name Gützlaff. The paper used is Chinese, the number of pages, sixty, and the type used, with the exception of the title, is the Japanese katakana syllabary. On the opening page is printed "Gospel of John" in Chinese characters; "Yohannes' Tidings of Joy" in the kana syllables. The first part of the first chapter is translated thus: "In the beginning there was the Wise One. This Hajimari ni Kashikoi mono gozaru. Kono kashi-Wise One was with Paradise (God). This Wise One was Paradise. koi mono Gokuraku to tomo ni gozaru. Kono Kashikoi Mono wa Gokuraku. In the beginning this Wise One was together with Paradise." Hajimari ni kono Kashikoi Mono gokuraku tomo ni gozaru."

Thus God is called "Paradise"; the Logos, or Word, is translated "Wise One"; and later the word "Kami" (God) is used for the Holy Spirit. The sixteenth verse of the third chapter is translated: "Gokuraku sekai no ningen wo tashika ni kawaigaru; "Paradise of a certainty loved the people of the world;

1. A copy of the Gospel of John was received in New York by the American Bible Society in June or July of 1838.

shitori musuko wo torashita; mina nin hito ni zonjiru kusaranu; tadashi wa
His only Son He gave; all men knowing (him) do not decay, for (they) have
aran kagiri inochi wo aru yue."
life to the utmost."

(In Kantō Gakuin, Yokohama, there is a copy of Gützlaff's Gospel of John copied out by Rev. T. Kawakatsu in 1874.)

Gützlaff's Gospel of John was followed in the same year (1837?) by John's Epistles, which were published by the same Bible society, as has been stated, but Gützlaff is said to have translated the entire New Testament and a portion of the Old Testament. Only the Gospel and the Epistles of John were published. However, a pamphlet of seven leaves containing the first two chapters of John's Gospel and the Second Epistle of John was published in Paris in 1854 by Leon de Rosny. de Rosny taught the Japanese language for forty years, beginning in 1868, in the School of Oriental Languages in Paris. He had acquaintances among the Japanese, and edited a Japanese Grammar and a "Collection of Japanese Poems". The latter is an anthology of nine poems from the "Manyōshū" and other poems and folk-songs together with French translations and notes. The present writer was permitted to see a copy of this leaflet in the collection of Dr. Ichikawa.

(On September 27, 1929, when a portion of the library of a certain well-known gentleman of Tokyo who had died was auctioned in Ōsaka, I requested the manager of an Ōsaka book store whom I knew to buy a copy of de Rosny's leaflet which was said to be in the library but it went to a Tokyo gentleman who purchased it at a far higher price than I could pay for such an old publication. Again in 1931 I saw the name of the same leaflet in the catalogue of a certain book store; the price was one-half of the figure which the former fetched, but even so I was unable to secure it. Later, according to Mr. Kadowaki's account, I learned that besides the copy owned by Dr. Ichikawa, copies were owned by Mr. Ojima Sekiyū of Tokyo and Mr. Ueda Teijiro of Ōsaka.)

Gützlaff's translation of John's Gospel came to the attention of Dr. Hepburn as early as 1841. It was in Singapore (before he came to Japan) that he saw the translation in the printing house. His interest was aroused, and he sent a copy to be placed in the museum of his missionary society in New York. When he came to Japan he brought a copy, having in mind using it for reference in translating the Bible. This is the copy referred to on page 4 now owned by the Nippon Theological Seminary. When we consider the evolution of this translation, we can but rejoice that not only was this the first Japanese translation of John's Gospel, but also that this first Japanese translation of a book of the Bible was blessed and allowed to accomplish its mission.

Contemporaneous with Gützlaff as a translator of a portion of the Bible into Japanese, and also working abroad, was Dr. S. Wells Williams (1812-1884). Dr. Williams was a native of New York state who went in 1833 to China as a missionary-printer, where he had close association with Dr. Gützlaff. Later he entered the service of the American Department of State in China, and late in life he became a lecturer in Chinese in Yale University. However, he had early centered his

thoughts upon the evangelization of Japan. In China he began the study of the Japanese language and the preparation of type for printing in Japanese. Dr. Williams, with Dr. Gützlaff, attempted to come to Japan in July, 1837, in the Morrison, but failed. Again, in 1852-53 he came as interpreter to Commodore Perry, but did not remain in Japan. It is probable that when Dr. Gützlaff translated the Gospel of John, or possibly later, Dr. Williams, with shipwrecked Japanese sailors as language teachers, translated the Gospel of Matthew and the book of Genesis. He sent the manuscripts of these, in 1860 or 1861, to Drs. Hepburn and Brown, with the idea of these translations being used as reference material in the translation of the Bible. The manuscripts were kept in Dr. Brown's residence, but in 1865 they were lost in the fire that destroyed the house. Hence it is impossible to quote from Dr. Williams' translations. There is a tradition that Dr. Williams considered 'tadashi' to be the equivalent of the English word 'but', and so translated it in every case, thus earning the name 'Tadashi San,' 'Mr. But'. However, previously, Dr. Williams is said to have gained from his colloquial speech the name 'Keredomo San', 'Mr. Nevertheless', as is related by Dr. William Eliot Griffis in his 'Hepburn of Japan and his Wife and Helpmates'. Dr. Griffis' statements in praise of Dr. Williams are as quoted in the present work in the section on 'Dictionaries' (pp. 93, 94); and on p. 92 of the life of Hepburn appears the following: 'Dr. S. Wells Williams, interpreter for Commodore Perry, was remembered as 'Keredomo San''.

It may be added that the sailor who assisted Dr. Williams in translating the Bible is said to have become the first Japanese Protestant believer.

(2) Translations Made In The Ryukyu (Loo Choo) Islands

Next I propose to give an account of the Bible translations made in the Ryukyu Islands by Dr. B.J. Bettelheim (1811-1870). Dr. Bettelheim was a Hungarian Jew who became a Christian, was naturalized in England, married an English woman, and became a physician and missionary. He arrived in Ryukyu in May, 1848, sent there by a group of British naval officers who had visited the Ryukyu Islands and had formed the Ryukyu Naval Evangelistic Society. Dr. Bettelheim moved to Ryukyu from Shanghai, and with his family settled in Naha. He remained in Naha for eight years, i.e., until January, 1854, when he returned to Shanghai. Due to strict surveillance by the local government, Dr. Bettelheim was unable to carry on evangelistic work as he desired, so he gave his main effort to the translation of the Bible. The date of his Bible translation into the Loo-Chooan colloquial is not clear, due to conflicting records, but seems to have been about 1851-52. In 1855 his translation of four books of the Bible was printed at Hong Kong at the request of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. According to the 'Fukuoka Daily News' of March 22, 1937, Rev. E.R. Bull, formerly of Kagoshima, but at that date residing in Massachusetts, presented to the Okinawa Prefectural Library a manuscript copy of Bettelheim's translation into the Loo Chooan colloquial, which he had copied and had in his possession. Inquiry at the Library brought the information that the MS. was a copy of Paul's 'Letter to the Romans', published in Hong Kong in 1855. However, the date of the making of the copy was uncertain. Regarding the achievements of Dr. Bettelheim, Mr. Shigehisa Atsutarō in the article referred to on page 3, gives some interesting information.

Dr. Bettelheim's Bible translation into the Loo-Chooan colloquial which was published in Hong Kong in 1855 comprised four books: The Gospel of Luke, The Gospel of John, the Book of Acts, and Paul's Letter to the Romans. The copy which I saw is the one in the possession of Dr. Ichikawa. In the Tōyō Bunkō (Oriental Library) there is a copy of the four books bound together, and in the Ueda Library at Hamadera, Ōsaka, there is a copy of the Gospel of John. On each title-page to the right of the title appears the date corresponding to 1855, and on the left an abbreviated translation of Matthew 28:19, quoted at the beginning of this section. The following is a quotation from Dr. Bettelheim's translation of the opening verses of the Gospel of Luke:

"Ōko no hito no wattā uchi makoto ni shirushi natōru koto tsurane nobiyosu. Kangaeta koto, hajime kara dōshimite, michi nobitairu mono ya futtau ni tsutaitaru-goto, mata waga omotemideu, hajime kara ryotai isai ni shiiteotaru, iya ni, tattoki Teohiro, ichi-ichi kaki, iyaganara taisuya jitsu ni satoshiru tame."

In 1858 the Hong Kong secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society published five hundred copies of Dr. Bettelheim's Gospel of Luke in Loo Choo colloquial. A revision of his Loo-Chooan colloquial version is printed parallel with the text of the Chinese version. This publication is mentioned also by Darlow and Moule in their Catalogue (No. 5803), to which reference has been made, but the date is given as 1855. It would seem that the Hong Kong secretary, in the case of the publication of 1858, used the entire wording of the title-page of that of 1855, while, as Mr. Shigehisa points out, the Japanese-Chinese parallel version must have been published in 1858. The copies of this book which I have seen are those in the library of Tōhoku Imperial University and the Nippon Theological Seminary; and it appears that copies are also in Kantō Gakuin, Yokohama, the Tōyō Bunkō, and the Ueda Bunko. The version of 1855 is in a Chinese-style binding, a somewhat long and narrow book, while that of 1858 is not only relatively wider, but the number of pages is slightly increased, due of course to the inclusion of the Chinese text. For comparison with the Loo-Chooan colloquial version of 1855, I quote the first part of the edition of 1858, which is printed in katakana:

Kedashi ōki hito ari; warera ga uchi kiwame shōko seraru no koto wo motte, ichi-ichi nobi-shirushi, sono hajime yori shitashiku mite, shikōshite kotowari wo oshieru mono-domo no warera ni tsutaetaru tōri ni sen to suru yue ni ware mo mata hajime yori koto mina mattaku satoritari. Ichi-ichi nanji tattoki Teopiro ni kakan to suru wo yoshi to omoete, nanji ga manabu tokoro no jitsu wo shirashimen.

Luke I: 1-4.

It is evident, when the two are compared, that the latter version makes a much closer approach to standard Japanese. It is conjectured that the Japanese who assisted in this revision was also a shipwrecked sailor. It is likely that some copies of the 1858 version were sent to missionaries residing in Japan, but these were not used by them in evangelistic work. Dr. Bettelheim himself, perceiving that the Loo-Chooan colloquial version would not be usable in Japan, later on, in Chicago, probably while engaged in business as a druggist, secured the assistance of a Japanese friend and created a version in standard Japanese. Who the assistant

was is unknown. It has been conjectured that it may have been Mr. Neeshima Jō, who was at that time in America; but to this conjecture there is considerable opposition. Of Dr. Bettelheim's translations into Loo-Chooan the three books which were subsequently revised into nearly standard Japanese, as will be indicated later, were published posthumously in Vienna.

As mentioned above, Dr. Bettelheim went from Naha to Shanghai and thence to America where he revised his Bible translations. Desiring to go to Japan, he sought for funds for missionary work, but was unsuccessful; and in 1870 he died in Brookfield, Missouri. However, his widow presented the MSS. of his translations to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and as an experiment gave \$400 toward the expense of publishing the Gospel of John. The society planned the publication, and entrusted the undertaking to Prof. August Pfizmaier (1808-1887), the Orientalist, of Vienna. The result was the issue of the Gospels of John and Luke in 1873 and Acts in 1874 from the press of Adolf S. Holzhausen. Prof. Pfizmaier was famed for his German translation and reproduction of Yanagitei's "Ukiyo-gata Roku-mai Byōbu". He compiled an Ainu grammar and introduced the "Manyōshū" to Europe. In 1872 in Bulletin No. 21 of the Vienna Academy he published his German translations of 216 long and short poems from the "Manyōshū". I understand that it contains many mistranslations, but have been unable to see the work.

In the Vienna version of Luke's Gospel the language is much more nearly standard Japanese than that of the Hong Kong version, and the katakana of the latter is changed to hiragana with a few Chinese ideographs. The format is reduced in size, and the type used is of the cursive style. A copy of each of the three books is in the Nippon Theological Seminary. On the cover of each is an explanation written by Dr. Hepburn, according to which the date of publication of all three was 1872. This is, however, an error, for two were published in 1873 and one in 1874, as stated above, the date being printed in both the Meiji Era year and the Western calendar year; but the latter date is printed in the lower corner of the margin in very minute type, and so may have escaped Dr. Hepburn's notice. Copies of the Gospel of Luke and of the Acts are in the Ueda Library, Osaka; of the Gospel of Luke one copy each is in the possession of Dr. Ichikawa and Mr. Hara Taneaki; of the Gospel of John one copy is in the Dōshisha University Library, and one in the possession of Mr. Tanaka Ryōichi of Dōshisha University.

I have fortunately secured a copy, but the title on the cover is written with a brush in India ink. The cover is of white paper and the title-page of vermilion on which in the center the words "Gospel of John" are printed in cursive characters; at the upper right-hand corner is the date, the 6th year of Meiji (1873), while at the left is printed in ideographs, "Austria, Wien, press of Adolf Holzhausen"; and in the lower right-hand corner, in fine Roman letters, "Japan. S. John. 1873." Furthermore, in all of the Vienna editions the form of the title-page, the paper used, and the style of printing are uniform. Rev. Maejima Hisoka of the Episcopal Church owns a copy of "Acts" in this edition, and the late Rev. Yamagata Yoneji of the same church owned two copies which have passed to his son, Morizō. Rev. Yamagata Yoneji was baptized in the 9th year of Meiji (1876) at the age of 18 or 19, and became one of the first deacons in Japan.

The following quotation is John 3: 16, 17. The language is not perfectly standard Japanese: it resembles that of the Gospel of Luke of the 1858 edition, but may possibly be closer to pure Japanese.

(The word for 'son' in v. 16 is printed 'musako'; but is printed correctly, 'musuko' in v. 17.)

'Kedashi Kami seken wo kano hodo ai-shite, sono hitori-umarasu no musako wo sura ataete, oyoso kore wo shinzuru mono horobazushite, kagirinaki inochi wo eseshimu ga tame. Katsu Kami sono musuko wo seken ye tsukawasu wa seken wo toga-sadame suru ni arazu, imashi seken kore wo motte sukuwaru ga tame nari.'

Part III: Bible Translation After The Opening Of Japan

The preceding section is an historical outline of Bible translation and publication by Protestant believers abroad and in the Loo-Choo (Ryukyu) islands. In this section I propose to deal with the translation work done in Japan from the time of the opening of our country in the Ansei period (1858).

(1) Early Translations Of Portions Of The Bible By Individuals

According to Dr. Hepburn, the first missionary to our country who worked at translating the Gospels was Dr. S.R. Brown; but his early MSS., together with those of Dr. Williams, mentioned above, were burned when his home was destroyed by fire in 1865. In 1869 Rev. David Thomson began the translation of Genesis, and Dr. Hepburn himself began before 1870 the translation of the four Gospels; but these were not immediately brought to publication. Thus it came about that the first Japanese translation of a book of the Bible published in Japan was that of the Gospel of Matthew by Rev. Jonathan Goble, missionary of the American Free Baptist Missionary Society residing in Yokohama. Mr. Goble began the translation of the Gospels and Acts in 1864, and his translation of Matthew was published in 1871. The copy which I saw is in the library of the Nippon Theological Seminary. It is stated in a pamphlet entitled 'History of Japanese Translations of the Bible and the Bible Societies' by Rev. K.E. Aurell, published in 1926 by the American Bible Society, Tokyo, that a copy of Goble's Matthew is in the Municipal History Compilation Bureau of the Yokohama Municipal Office, and I ascertained that this copy is extant. The copy which I saw bears the title 'Matthew's Gospel' on the cover; it is printed in hiragana from wooden blocks, and tastefully bound in a blue paper cover. This copy has a slip pasted on it, as in the case of Gutzlaff's 'Gospel of John', on which is inscribed in Dr. Hepburn's handwriting the following explanation:

"The Gospel of Matthew translated by Rev. Mr. Goble of the Baptist Mission in Yokohama, and published on blocks, in 1872 (?). This is the first portion of the Bible published in Japan."

At the end of this booklet is printed: "End of Matthew's Gospel, translation by the American missionary, Goble ('Goburi'), Yokohama, blocks cut, Meiji 4th year, 7th month." That is, the blocks for this book were completed in July, 1871. Why,

then, did Dr. Hepburn indicate 1872 as the date of publication? Regarding the publication of this book the translator himself has left the following reminiscence:

"At that time on the part of the wood-block cutters there was great unwillingness to undertake any work for Christians on account of the danger. In Yokohama there were none who would accept the order, so I had the blocks cut in Tokyo. It would seem that the Tokyo block-cutter undertook the work in ignorance of the contents of the book."

According to Mr. Kadowaki, copies of this translation are owned by Mr. Kumaya of the Christian Book and Tract Society of Tokyo and Rev. Mr. Fukuyama of Osaka.

The fact that among the many Protestant missionaries who came to Japan, Mr. Goble should be the first to publish a Japanese translation of the Bible, was, however, not at all fortuitous; he had early become interested in Japan as a field for missionary work; and when Commodore Perry came to Japan, Goble joined the expedition with the purpose of making an investigation. Returning to the United States, he studied theology in order that he might become a missionary to Japan. Finally he came, landing in 1860 at Kanagawa, and bringing with him a shipwrecked sailor named Sentarō. Mr. Goble first began the publication of the Gospel of Matthew in Roman letters, but did not complete it. To illustrate the purport of his translation, I give two quotations:

Chap. 5: 5-8: 'Nyūwa no mono wa saiwai ja, kedashi sono hito sekai wo sōzoku seyō. Gi wo shitai, ue-katsueru mono wa saiwai ja; kedashi sono hito michimashō. Megumi aru mono wa saiwai ja; kedashi sono hito megumi wo ukeyō. Kokoro ni oite kiyoki mono wa saiwai ja; kedashi sono hito Kami wo miyō.'

Chap. 6: 9-13: (The Lord's Prayer): 'Sore yue anata wa kō inorubeshi: 'Ten ni imasu warera no Chichi ya, Mi Na wo tōtomase tamaye. Anata no go seiji nasare; Anata no oboshimeshi Ten ni aru gotoku, chi ni mo nasashime tamaye. Warera no hi-bi no meshi konnichi mo warera ni atae tamai; katsu warera ni hikioi aru hito wo warera ga yurusu gotoku, warera no hikioi mo yurushi tamaye. Warera wo sosonokashi ni sasoi tamawazu; tada warera wo aku yori tasuke tamayeyo''.

I shall touch later upon the matter of the relation between Goble's and Dr. Nathan Brown's translations of the New Testament in hiragana. Goble was probably the first translator of hymns into Japanese. Hymn No. 499 in the present 'Hymnal', 'Amatsu Mi Kuni wa ito-tanoshi' ('There is a Happy Land'), Goble is said to have translated 'Yoi kuni arimasu; taiso empō; Shinja wa sakaete, hikari zo, etc.', the date being prior to 1873. (See the note at the end of this section. p. 31)

Dr. Hepburn, according to his own statement, with the assistance of Mr. Okuno Masatsuna, began translating the four Gospels before 1870; and he and Dr. S.R. Brown together, also with the help of Mr. Okuno, revised Mark, John, and Matthew. In the autumn of 1872 Mark and John were published, and Matthew in the spring of 1873. In the same year the Gospel of John in Roman letters, 'Yohane no Fukuin', was published in New York.

As an example of a early Bible translation by a Japanese, there is the 'Leaves from Western Teaching' ('Seiyō Kyōsō'), or 'Teachings of Love and Respect', done

by Mr. Nagata Hōsei and printed from wooden blocks, and published in Osaka in 1873. A copy of this work, which was reviewed in the 59th issue of the "Shinkō Kirisutokyō", published in August, 1935, by Mr. Hatanaka Iwao, is in the Ueda Teijiro Collection in the Ueda Bunkō at Hanadera, Osaka. The book (111 pages, including introduction and text) is a collection of scattered extracts from the Old Testament. There appear to be many errors, but the translations were made purposely easy to read. The date of the introduction is April 1, 1873. The publication was a joint undertaking of the Buneidō, Mayekawa Zenbei, Shinsaibashi Road, Minami Kyūhōji-chō, and the Okada Gigyokudō. Regarding the translator no information is available, except that on the first page of the book "Aichi Prefecture" is printed above his name; but in the first selection the translator states his purpose in producing the book. He writes, "I am not minded to found a sect, and I have no time to compose ornate language; but I chiefly desire to make one contribution to advance the Good." The following is a quotation (Proverbs 10: 1-3), which the translator entitles "Words of Admonition":

"Chi aru ko wa yoku chichi wo tanoshimashime; oroka naru ko wa haha no urei to naru. Muri ni etaru takara wa tsui ni eki nashi. Tada kōgi nareba, wazawai ni sukuwaru. Kami wa gi aru hito no rei wo ueshimezushite, akunin no takara wo nage-uchi, ushinawashimu."

According to the research of Mr. Kadowaki Kiyoshi, in this book the whole of I Timothy and Titus are translated. Mr. Kadowaki's article, entitled "First Translation of the Gospel of Matthew by a Japanese: Regarding the 'Refutation of the New Testament'; published in 1875", appears in the 84th number of "Shinkō Kirisutokyō", issued in September, 1938. The article is a review of the book of this title by Mr. Tajima Zōji, which was published in June, 1875 by the Ten-shō-in, Tokyo. Mr. Tajima has several books to his credit and was also an energetic journalist. As the title of the book indicates, it is a confutation of Christianity. According to Mr. Kadowaki, of the 124 pages of the work, over 83 pages are devoted to a complete translation of the Gospel of Matthew. To give a specimen of the translation, I quote Matthew 5: 3-5, part of the Beatitudes:

"Kokoro no uchi herikudaru naru mono wa saiwai nari:

Ikan to nareba sono hito no kuni wa sunawachi Tenkoku nareba nari
Ai-dō (kanashimi-nageki) suru mono wa saiwai nari:

Ikan to nareba sono hito wa nagusame wo ukubeki mono nareba nari.
Nyūwa naru mono wa saiwai nari:

Ikan to nareba sono hito wa chikyū wo ai-tsugu mono nareba nari."

A part of verse 17 of the 28th chapter is underlined, thus: "but there were some who doubted," for reference in the confutation. A copy of this book was discovered a few years ago in Shimoda, province of Ito, by the Rev. M. Funamoto, pastor of the Evangelical Church of that town, and was presented by him to Mr. Kadowaki. It is worthy of notice that, although the book was written to refute Christianity, there was in existence, within the covers of this book, at such an early date, a translation of the Gospel of Matthew by a Japanese.

The Report of the Asiatic Society for 1880 states that there existed translations of more than ten of the Psalms made by Prof. Chamberlain in the style of the

"Manyō" poems. I quote Ps. 23: 1:

"A wo moru wa ame-shiroshimesu Kimi nareba, nani ka kakubeki. Uruwashiku, nagusame-masamu."

(2) Joint Translations Of The New Testament

The preceding section dealt with translations undertaken by individuals, the majority of them made to meet an immediate need; but as early as the year 1872, work was begun on the translation of the New Testament as a joint enterprise. On September 20 of that year fourteen missionaries of the several communions assembled in Yokohama, and made the decision to undertake the translation of the New Testament into Japanese under the auspices of the American Bible Society. The committee appointed for the work were Drs. S.R. Brown, J.C. Hepburn and D.C. Greene. Dr. Brown, a missionary of the Dutch Reformed church, was a scholar whose mother was a hymn-writer. Dr. Hepburn was a physician, a missionary of the Presbyterian church, who finally returned to America in 1892, and passed away in 1911 at the age of 97. Dr. Greene was a missionary of the Congregational church, who, as will be noted below, later participated also in the revision of the Japanese Bible. In 1907 when I was a student in Aoyama Theological School, I had frequent opportunities, though indirect, of contact with his scholarly, kindly presence. On March 25, 1874 (the date given in the "Christian Year Book", though other publications give June of the same year as the date; the latter however being the date of the meeting of the full committee), the translation of the New Testament into Japanese was finally begun. (Beside the three mentioned above, subsequently Drs. R.S. McClay and Nathan Brown, Rev. John Piper, and Kasatkin Nicolai of the Russian Church Mission joined the committee.) After about one year and a half Dr. N. Brown resigned and continued his translation alone. Others, too, who joined the committee became for various reasons unable to attend the meetings. However, the English member, Mr. Piper, became, as will be seen later, a benefactor of Bible translation into Japanese.

The first fruit of this joint undertaking was the translation of the Gospel of Luke, which was published in August, 1875. (In the same year a single sheet bearing the translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments of Moses, and a table of the Sabbaths for the year, was prepared and issued by the translation committee.) In 1876, Romans [and Hebrews], and in 1877, Matthew and Mark [Acts, Romans, Galatians, and the Epistles of John] were published. (However, according to the Japanese Section of the Catalogue of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a translation by Japanese scholars of the Gospel of Matthew was published in 1876 by Jūjiya of Tokyo, thus antedating the publication of the committee's translation of Matthew.) [The American Bible Society has copies of Matthew, 1874, and Mark, 1876.] From then on, the work of the committee progressed, and Philemon, James, First and Second Peter, Jude, Colossians, and Revelation were published in April, 1880, the translations having been completed in July of the previous year; thus bringing to its accomplishment the translation of the New Testament. April 19, 1880, the day on which the completion was celebrated, was just two days after Mr. Kataoka Kenkichi presented to the Administrative Council the petition for the establishment of the Diet. The translations were written

for the block-cutters in the beautiful calligraphy of Mr. Okuno Masatsuna. The Gospels were each bound separately, while in the case of the shorter books several were bound together. The prices ranged from ten sen down to four sen apiece. These portions continued to be used for a while, even after the New Testament was issued in one volume.

The Japanese who participated in the translation were Messrs. Okuno Masatsuna and Matsuyama Takayoshi;¹ and as Mr. Takahashi Gorō was teacher of Japanese to Dr. Brown, he also took part in the work. Besides, Messrs. Sugimoto and Miwa assisted for a time, and Mr. Ibuka Kajinosuke, who was still young, helped informally. In an article by Dr. Ibuka which appeared in the 'Fukuin Shimpō', No. 1088, an intimate account of the committee's meetings and methods is given:

"The translation committee, except on Saturdays and Sundays, sat every morning from nine to twelve o'clock. The draft of a passage made beforehand by one of the members was read, discussed, and decision taken on the final form. Not infrequently a half-day was spent and only one or two verses translated. The committee met in the southeast room in Dr. Brown's residence at No. 221, Bluff, Yokohama. In the center of the room was a large round table about which the three translators and their three assistants sat and carried on their discussions. I recall that on the table before Drs. Brown and Greene lay two or three Greek Bibles open; before Dr. Hepburn a New Testament Commentary in English; before the Japanese assistants, grammars, Bibles in Mandarin and other Chinese versions. Dr. Brown's assistant was Mr. Takahashi, Dr. Hepburn's Mr. Okuno, and Dr. Greene's Mr. Matsuyama. At times there were very warm discussions. I was then living in Dr. Brown's home as a student-helper, and had access to the meeting-room without permission, because, although inexperienced, I was assisting Dr. Brown in translating the Book of Acts. So, today, when I recall the scenes of forty years ago, I can picture those six men gathered about the round table, and hear the sound of the discussion waxing and waning in intensity."

According to Dr. Ibuka, the basis for the Japanese translation was the Greek original of the King James Version. Thus the Japanese Bible is not a re-translation, but a translation direct from the Greek; and the basal script was not the Chinese characters but the furigana (the kana letters printed with the ideographs). The Japanese assistants inevitably tended to depend upon the Chinese translations and to stress the Chinese composition; but Dr. Brown aimed at translating as far as possible into Japanese colloquial. Dr. Greene particularly desired to make the kana syllabary primary, and to place small Chinese characters at the side in places difficult to read; thus he expressed himself to Prof. Bessho. In fact, the copy of the Gospel of Matthew which I possess (Translation Committee's version, published by the American Bible Society, Yokohama, 1878) is entirely in hiragana, with here and there a Chinese character at the right of the word. According to Mr. Matsuyama, the style of composition adopted was that advocated by Mr. Okuno and himself, and which was favored by Dr. Hepburn; but since, needless to say, the Japanese assistants consulted the Chinese versions, Mr. Matsuyama's and Dr. Ibuka's statements are not contradictory.

1. Or, Kōkichi

It is a peculiar coincidence that the completion of the committee's translation of the New Testament very closely antedated the ending of the life-work of Dr. S.R. Brown, the chairman of the committee. In the summer of 1879, when the committee were about to commence the correction of the translation of Revelation, Dr. Brown became ill and returned to America. Fortunately he was able to see the published translation of the New Testament: a few days later his illness became serious, and in 1880, at the age of seventy, he passed away.

Dr. Nathan Brown, who, as has been stated, engaged independently in translating the New Testament, completed his hiragana version in 1879, a few months prior to the completion of the committee's translation. A copy of this version, dated 1879, is in the library of Kanto Gakuin, Yokohama. However, Dr. N. Brown as early as 1873 had joined with Mr. Goble in the work of translating the Bible into hiragana, and subsequently had continued the translation alone. In the copy of his version of the Gospel of Matthew in the collection of the Nanasōji Association of Tokyo the name of the translator, not usually printed in translations of the Bible, is not given; but upon a slip pasted on the cover the date of the edition is given as 1874. In a few places in this edition words in Roman letters are printed at the right of the column in hiragana. These are rather of the nature of furigana, but sometimes they indicate references to other versions. Of Chinese characters printed at the right of the hiragana there are but few, but they are quite noticeable. For example, in v. 25 of the 14th chapter, at the right of しかう (shikō) are the characters 四更,¹ and below them is the explanation in Roman letters: "san-ji yori yō-ake made" ['from three o'clock until dawn']: But this is an unusual case. Dr. Nathan Brown's translations of Mark and James were published in 1875. His work of translating the New Testament made steady progress and was completed in 1879. However, in the copy of Mark in the Nanasōji Association's collection, the translation of which is attributed to him (the date is not printed, but is known to be 1877), no Roman letters are employed, but Chinese characters still appear here and there. Later, these are omitted and the basal hiragana syllables alone remain.

Dr. N. Brown's assistant was Rev. T. Kawakatsu. The hiragana version was revised at least once before Dr. Brown's death in 1886. Later revisions were made by Mr. Kawakatsu under the supervision of Dr. A.A. Bennett. About the year 1885 the hiragana text of Dr. N. Brown's translation was re-written in Chinese characters by Rev. W.J. White and Mr. Suzuki Shigenari, and issued by the American Baptist Mission. This was followed by a number of editions. A copy of the first edition of Dr. Brown's hiragana New Testament is in the Nippon Theological Seminary at Fujimi-cho, Kōjimachi, Tokyo. Prior to his coming to Japan, Dr. Brown had lived in Burma and Tibet and had translated the New Testament into the tribal language of the Assamese under British rule. Following Dr. Brown's translation other translations were made by men affiliated with the Baptist church, but I shall write of these in the chapter on Bible Revision.

The sign-boards bearing the proclamation of the prohibition of Christianity were not removed until the abolition of the ban in 1873. Thus the translation of the New Testament into Japanese, begun in the following year, dates almost from the

[1. Or, "next to the word shikō in hiragana are the Chinese characters for 'fourth division'," according to an ancient system which divided the day and night into five intervals.]

removal of the notice-boards. Yet, even though these were taken down, Christianity was not publicly permitted, and various antipathies and hardships still remained to be endured. Then, too, the translators met with an enormous difficulty in the matter of the Japanese language. Even to the present day this problem cannot be said to have been solved; but at that period it¹ was in a more chaotic state. Hence, the achievement of such excellent translations in the face of such intrinsic and extrinsic difficulties, is, to believers in Christianity, nothing else than God's great providence.

Furthermore, though not Bible translations, there are early examples of Bible commentaries. These have been brought to my notice by Prof. Bessho Umenosuke. (See the list of reference works at the end of this section.) In 1875, the American, Rev. C. Carrothers' "Brief Commentary on Matthew" was published; and in 1879 a commentary on Matthew was published in Kobe from the office of the American Missionary Societies.

(3) Joint Translation Of The Old Testament

While the joint translation of the New Testament was in process, missionaries of all denominations in Tokyo met on October 30, 1876, in Tsukiji, and decided to undertake the translation of the Old Testament in co-operation with the committee at work in Yokohama upon the New Testament. The Revs. Hugh Waddell, John Piper, David Thompson, and George Cochran were appointed a translation committee. The first two named were Englishmen, Dr. Thompson was an American, and Mr. Cochran a Canadian. In the following year the committee published the first three chapters of Genesis, the translation having been done by Dr. Thompson and revised by the committee. The next year the first eleven chapters of Genesis were published. The following quotation is from the translation of the first three chapters, published in 1877, being the first three verses of the first chapter:

'Hajime ni Kami ten to chi wo tsukureri. Sate chi wa katachi naku munashikariki. Kuraki wa wada no omote no uye ni arishi ga, Kami no Rei suimen no uye ni ōi-itari. Kami 'Akari nare' to iishi ni, akari nariki.'

In the issue of 1878 some revision was made: in the passage just quoted the only changes were in the furigana beside two Chinese characters. However, in this printing a smaller type was used.

In 1878 the Book of Jonah also was published, being apparently a trial translation by Mr. Piper; and in 1881 the books of Jonah, Haggai, and Malachi were issued after review by the "standing committee". It appears that other members besides Mr. Piper made translations. However, prior to this, in May, 1878, a meeting of missionaries was held in Tokyo in which a new plan for the undertaking was adopted, as a consequence of which the former committee transferred the fruits of its labors to a newly-appointed committee and disbanded. The new committee was entitled "The Permanent Committee on the Translation, Revision, Publication and Preservation of the Text of the Holy Scriptures." The members were Drs. J.C. Hepburn, S.R. Brown, R.S. McClay, and D.C. Greene (all Americans)

[1. i.e., The structure and study of the language.]

and Rev. John Piper (English). The new plan for translating the Old Testament, in order to hasten the completion of the work, provided for setting up local committees of missionaries in Hakodate, Tokyo, Yokohama, Niigata, Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto, and Nagasaki, which were to send in their translations to the central committee. Meanwhile, this committee revised the completed latter portion of the translation of the New Testament (the portions published in 1879 and 1880), and later, with the assistance of Mr. Okuno Masatsuna, revised the translation of the whole New Testament. This became the standard version of the Japanese New Testament, at least for the Protestant churches, until the revision, which was completed some 35 years later.

Some translations (of portions of the Old Testament) made by the local committees were sent to the Standing Committee for revision and were published; but on the whole there were so few missionaries who complied with the plan of local committees that the plan failed. Up to 1882, Dr. G.F. Verbeck, Rev. P.K. Fyson, and Dr. Hepburn functioned as the committee on translation and revision. Dr. Hepburn has already been mentioned. Dr. Verbeck, who was known among the Japanese as Furubekki San, and was appointed to high position by the government and made great contributions to learning in Japan, is referred to in the first section of this book.

I should also add, that Dr. Verbeck was a Dutchman who came to Japan as a missionary of the Dutch Reformed church. His motive for thus coming resulted from hearing an address on evangelism in the Orient delivered in Holland by Dr. Gützlaff when the latter was touring Europe in 1849-50 during his term as colonial secretary of the Hong Kong Government. Mr. Fyson was a missionary of the Anglican church who later became Bishop of Hokkaidō.

In 1884, Messrs. Matsuyama Takayoshi,¹ Uemura Masahisa, and Ibuka Kajinosuke joined the undertaking as a translating committee appointed by the churches of Japan. According to Mr. Matsuyama, Dr. Uemura had a close relation to the translation of Isaiah, while Mr. Matsuyama himself was concerned especially with the translation of the Psalms. In the work of correction and revision the assistance of the Japanese was essential, and Dr. Hepburn states that this work fell especially to Messrs. Matsuyama Takayoshi and Takahashi Gorō. The Old Testament in Japanese translation was completed in 1887, and in 1888 the official translation of the Bible (the New Testament being the version issued in 1884) was published. The expenses of the Old Testament translation were borne jointly by the British and Foreign Bible Society, the National Bible Society of Scotland, and the American Bible Society.

In the task of translating the Bible into Japanese the factor which gave unity to the production was the punctuated [Kuntēn] Chinese version. When, however, the Japanese translation was completed, the Bible societies stopped the publication of this punctuated Chinese translation.

[1. Or, Kōkichi.]

Part IV: Revision Of The Japanese Translation

The Japanese translation of the Bible was thus completed, and the resultant version, needless to record, was, as has been long recognized, a splendid translation, possessing a remarkably fine literary style. However, a living language changes and grows. In particular, the language of Japan, during the period since the Japanese Bible was completed, has undergone extraordinary development. Hence, as time passed, the need for a revision of the Bible naturally arose, as well for the reason just indicated as for further reasons. That is to say, the rapid progress of Biblical research made imperative the need for a revision which should embody the fruits of this research. In 1892, Mr. Asada Eiji, who had studied Hebrew in America, wrote in the "Rikugo Zasshi" on "The Need for the Revision of the Japanese Bible". And, as in the case of the original undertaking of translating the Bible, prior to the making of a plan for a translation by the different denominations in co-operation, beginnings were made privately by individuals. And such efforts did not cease even after the joint undertaking was begun, but have continued down to the present.

(1) Bible Revision As Private Enterprise

About the year 1904 Revs. Uemura Masahisa, Uchimura Kanzō, Kozaki Hiromichi, and Kashiwai En planned together to make a revision of the Japanese Bible, and the Keiseisha Book Concern undertook to provide the funds required. As a result Prof. Kashiwai prepared a revision of the Gospel of John which was corrected by the other three men, but the plan was finally abandoned. However, Prof. Kashiwai's translation was used as the text for his "Studies in John's Gospel" (published by the Tokyo Y.M.C.A. in 1910. See p. 166 of Vol. IV of "Uemura Masahisa and His Times" by Rev. Saba Wataru, published by Kyōbunkan).

There was besides a translation of Romans made by Rev. Miyazaki Yaokichi; but among the privately planned Bible translations the most noteworthy are those produced by Prof. Sakon Yoshihiro, his work on them having been begun before the period of his professorship in the Theological School of Aoyama Gakuin. His revision, both in respect of his basing it upon a minute study of the original languages and in the fact of his making Bible revision his life-long labor, has a unique significance and value. Prof. Sakon, in response to my desire to know of the progress of his Bible revision, wrote in September, 1930, during the period of his professorship, regarding the progress of his work and his future expectations. His letter stated that in 1887 he had gone to South America as an emigrant, but had failed to accomplish anything, and for some time he had to travel on tortuous paths. Finally, however, he determined to translate the Bible into his own language. In order to give the facts correctly I shall quote from his memoir:

"In my discouragement I was reading the Bible in English (it was in New York, in 1888-89), and simultaneously with my conversion to Christianity I designed translating the Bible into Japanese. While working to support myself I studied the original languages of both the Old and the New Testaments. In 1906 I sent my translation of Romans from New York, and Mr. Uchimura published it in his magazine "Bible Study". This became a signal-fire for Bible revision in Japan.

In the autumn of 1907 I returned home. In 1908 my translation of the Gospel of Matthew was published by the Hakubunkan. In 1909 I published the Psalms, and had to suffer for six years paying back the hundred yen I had borrowed to pay for the publication. In 1911 I received a hundred yen from Mr. Takata Shūzō and published Genesis. In 1914 I received ¥ 1,000 from an acquaintance and published "The Life of Jesus" (The Four Gospels); and in 1919 at my own charges I published "The Early Period of Christianity" (The Acts). At present I am penniless. During these years I also published in magazines such as "Shūkyō" ('Religion') several of Paul's Epistles.

"However, up to that time all of my translations were no more than tentative. Henceforth, in my translations of all the 66 books of the Bible, I propose to print, as may be seen in this rough draft of Daniel, ch. 7, a literal translation in the upper half of the page and the literary translation in the lower half, for the convenience of Bible scholars. However, I propose to translate Paul's Epistles into the epistolary language. Recently I have finished the translations of Daniel and Revelation, and am revising them, making fair copies and juxtaposing the literal and the literary translations. When these are completed, in 1933 or 1934, I propose to write commentaries on Daniel and Revelation; these finished, I shall devote myself wholly to Bible translation, in the hope that I may complete the other books of the Bible in fifteen or twenty years. As for the publication, either of the commentaries or of the translations, I have no expectation because of the lack of funds."

As was stated above, Prof. Sakon's revisions, based as they are upon study of the Bible in the original languages and also upon the assured results of historical studies, will be, for those who propose to make detailed studies of the Bible, extremely interesting and valuable. As an example, I quote the translation of the first half of the 19th Psalm. Among the different Psalms, as Prof. Sakon states in the preface of his translation of the Psalms, "there are those which show within the same psalm differences in form, period of composition, or authorship, mixed thus in the hands of editors of anthologies for use in public worship." The 19th Psalm is one of such mixtures; the second half belongs to a different group of poems than the first half. The quotation exhibits, of course, Prof. Sakon's choice of words, and, as compared with the excellent current translation, his style of translation which is so faithful to the original:

"Ten wa EL no eikō wo katari,
 Ōzora wa Sono te no waza wo tsugu.
 Hiru wa hiru ni kotoba wo tsutae,
 Yoru wa yoru ni chishiki wo sazuku.
 Karera no koe wa zenchi ni watari,
 Karera no kotoba wa sekai no hate ni oyobu.
 Tenmaku wa hi no tame ni soko ni mōkerare,
 Hi wa nii-muko no gotoku sono ōi yori ide,
 Masurao no gotoku yorokobite sono michi wo hashiru.
 Sono noboru ya Ten no hate yori shi,
 Sono meguru ya Ten no hashi ni itari,
 Mono to shite sono hi yori kakuretaru wa nashi."

Furthermore, Prof. Sakon's later manuscripts of translation, as stated in his letter quoted above, and as may be seen in the manuscript of his trial translation of Daniel, are of deep significance in that the plan of printing first the literal translation faithful to the original, and below it the literary translation, will aid in the understanding of the Bible. Prof. Sakon, because of his advancing age, has resigned from the faculty of the Theological Department of Aoyama Gakuin, but he still works at his Bible translations. I earnestly hope that discriminating supporters may be found for such a significant enterprise.

Later I shall record the facts regarding the translation made by Baptists. Beside this, notable translations of the entire New Testament or of portions, based upon knowledge of the original Greek, have been made by individuals. However, since they are comparatively recent, I shall record them in the following section. From early times there have been attempts by both Japanese and foreigners to render at least some portion of the Bible into simpler Japanese than the standard translations. In the Gospel of Mark published in 1881 by the American Bible Society at Tokyo, under and to the right of the title on the title-page, the word "Zokuwa" (popular version) is printed in cursive type, the style of translation being indicated by the first sentence:

"Kore wa Kami no ko, Iesu Kirisuto, no fukuin no hajime de gozarimasu."

The type used is the "hentai-gana", but altered to the ordinary style. In the Gospel of Mark published the same year in Yokohama by the British and Foreign Bible Society, the word "zokuwa" or "zokugo" (colloquial) is printed on the cover in a different style of type.

Rev. J. S. Amerman, with the assistance of Mr. Ishimoto, rendered the Gospel of Mark into simple Japanese and published it first in 1888. Later, other editions were issued. Miss Susan Ballard's "Extracts from Genesis", published in 1896, was in simple language. Miss Ballard remained many years in Japan, was active in the Tokyo Women's Club, and in August, 1935, returned to England. Rev. Jonathan Goble's translation of 1871 was the first to exhibit the tendency toward a version in the spoken language. In 1901 Rev. George Braithwaite published a colloquial version of the first four chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, the printing being done by the Fukuin Printing Company of Yokohama.

(2) Bible Revision As A Joint Undertaking Of The Denominations

In the preceding section I have covered the period, down to about 1900, of Bible revision attempted by individuals or small groups; but by the beginning of the fifth decade of the Meiji period (1907), revision as a joint undertaking of the Protestant denominations was gotten under way. Probably the fact that the name given to the committee appointed in May, 1878, "The Permanent Committee on the Translation, Revision, Publication and Preservation of the Text of the Holy Scriptures," constituted an intimation of the possible need for a future joint revision. That is, a committee of one representative from each mission, together with representatives of the American and British Bible Societies, was charged with the duty of translating, revising, publishing, and preserving the Bible. Thereafter, as related above, the

need for a revision gradually became imperative, and in June, 1906, the decision to undertake the revision was made; and in 1910 the rules to govern the revision were determined upon. Thus the union revision work was begun, the details of which formed the leading articles in the issues of the 'Kyōkai Jihō' ('Religious Work Review'), the organ of the Japan Methodist Church, from August 4 to September 15, 1922, under the title 'Regarding the Translation of the New Testament', by Prof. Besshō Umenosuke, one of the church-appointed members of the committee of revision. I shall give the gist of the history of the revision work as told by Prof. Besshō in his 'Facts of Bible Translation', a collation of the above-mentioned articles, and included in his book, 'Kōko no Naka,' published in 1935.

The first meeting of the Bible Revision Committee was held in the Tokyo Young Men's Christian Association Building in Mitoshirocho, Kanda, on March 12, 1910. The regular members were to be four missionaries and four Japanese: Dr. D.C. Greene (Congregational), Bishop H.J. Foss (Anglican), Rev. C.S. Davison (Methodist), and Dr. J.H. Dunlap (Presbyterian); Rev. Matsuyama Takayoshi (Episcopal) and Rev. Besshō Umenosuke (Methodist), appointed first, were within the month joined by Rev. Kawazoe Masuye of Osaka (Presbyterian) and Prof. Fujii Toraichi of Kyoto (Congregational). The second meeting was held on the morning of April 13 in Dr. Kozaki Hiromichi's study in the parsonage of Reinanzaka Congregational Church, Prof. Fujii being the first to arrive on that day. In the afternoon the committee translated the first four verses of the first chapter of Mark. The decision to begin with the Gospel of Mark was taken on the motion of Prof. Besshō; and the policy regarding the style of language which was adopted was that recommended by Mr. Matsuyama, out of his rich experience. The copies of Dr. Nestle's edition of the Greek New Testament, which had been adopted as the basal text, not having arrived, Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament was used for a while at the beginning. Thenceforth, the committee held its meetings at the homes of individuals, but in May a room in the Theological Department of Aoyama Gakuin was rented as the committee's headquarters. Meanwhile, Mr. Kawazoe having moved to Tokyo, it became possible to hold a general meeting of the committee. However, Dr. Dunlop resigned and Prof. Davison left for a year's furlough. It was consequently decided to request the assistance of Dr. C.K. Harrington of the Baptist Mission, and he later became a regular member. Prof. Davison resumed his work with the committee in October of the following year.

The rules for the revision which were distributed at the general meeting were those adopted in January, 1910. Among them were the following articles:

'Article III. In revising the present Japanese Bible this committee shall follow the text of Dr. Nestle's edition of Greek Testament published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. However, in the case of special passages, with the consent of two-thirds of the members proficient in Greek, the text of the English Revised Version may be substituted for this.

Article IV. This committee shall follow the interpretation favored in the English Revised Version. Unless there be a two-thirds vote based upon the findings of the most recent scholarship, a variant interpretation shall not be adopted.'

The general policy as to the style of language, where the style is not difficult, having been determined upon, the committee, beginning that autumn, divided and carried on its work, Bishop Foss and Mr. Matsuyama in Kobe, and the other members in Tokyo.

The first draft of the Gospel of Mark was completed on January 25, 1911. After correction it was published at the end of June, and the opinions of scholars were sought. 3,000 copies were issued. There was a preface signed jointly by the late Bishop Honda Shōichi and Dr. Hoshino Kōta, and a preface by the chairman of the committee, Dr. Greene. The Gospel of Mark in the present revised Japanese Bible is a further revision of that published in 1911.

At the general meeting of the committee held in the preceding January it was decided that the work should be divided: Dr. Harrington and Messrs. Kawazoe and Besshō were to prepare the original draft of Matthew; Dr. Greene and Mr. Fujii that of Luke; and Bishop Foss and Mr. Matsuyama that of John; and upon the completion of these drafts, they were to be examined by the whole committee and corrected. The work was being carried out in this way, but Mr. Fujii, while the whole committee were engaged in revising the translation of Luke for which he and Dr. Greene were responsible, resigned and returned to his home in Kumamoto; and in September of the following year (1913), the chairman, Dr. Greene, died. In January, 1914, Dr. D.W. Learned of Dōshisha began sitting with the committee. According to Prof. Besshō, the original plan of making the current version the basis, and revising it in the light of the Nestle Greek text, was found by experience not to be feasible in that form, various difficulties being encountered in such matters as the discrimination of synonyms, the orthography of geographical and personal names, etc. However, on February 24, 1917, the committee completed the revision of the New Testament; and in October of the same year the Revised New Testament was published,--just 37 years after the completion of the first translation. The cost of the revision was borne by the three foreign Bible Societies represented in Japan.

Prof. Besshō writes, "Does there exist only the need for revising the Old Testament? Indeed, the circumstances will some day render necessary another revision of the New Testament of 1917. I look for the rise of new men (for the task)." Yet it goes without saying that the revision of 1917 possesses many excellences, and naturally in the Protestant churches of Japan it has taken the place of the older translation. Tentatively we may compare the two translations of the "Lord's Prayer":

Translation of 1880:

"Ten ni mashimasu warera no Chichi yo: Negawaku wa Mi Na wo agamesase tamae. Mi Kuni wo kitarase tamae. Mi Kokoro no Ten ni naru gotoku, chi ni mo narase tamae. Warera no nichiyō no kate wo kyō mo atae tamae. Warera ni oime aru mono wo warera ga yurusu gotoku, warera no oime wo mo yurushi tamae. Warera wo kokoromi ni awasezu, aku yori sukui-dashi tamae. Kuni to chikara to sakae wa kagirinaku Nanji no mono nareba nari."

Revision of 1917:

"Ten ni imasu warera no Chichi yo: Negawaku wa Mi Na no agameraren koto; Mi Kuni no kitaran koto wo; Mi Kokoro no Ten no gotoku, chi ni mo okonawaren koto wo. Warera no nichiyō no kate wo kyō mo atae tamae. Warera ni oime aru mono wo warera no yurushitaru gotoku, warera no oime wo mo yurushi tamae. Warera wo kokoromi ni awasezu, aku yori sukui-idashi tamae."

Possibly the first difference that one would notice is the fact that in the revision there are fewer Chinese characters. Then, too, the revision is closer to the phraseology of the Greek, the attempt having been made to show even the tenses of the original. Again, in the revision the omission of the last verse, will be noticed; but this omission does not occur for the first time in this revision: the Roman Catholic church from ancient times has used a version which does not contain this verse, as may be seen from the translation of the "Lord's Prayer" contained in the "Doctrina Christan", quoted at the beginning of Part I of this section. The omission of this verse by the revision committee was, I believe, due to the conclusion reached by Bible scholars after comparative study of ancient New Testament texts -- the conclusion being that the versions in which this verse is omitted are the most reliable, or, in other words, that this verse is a later addition.

I have referred to the hiragana New Testament of Dr. Nathan Brown of the Baptist mission. In 1901 the Baptist mission again published a Japanese New Testament, the translation having been made by Rev. F.G. Harrington, with the assistance of Mr. Kushiro. (This date is derived from the catalogue of Darlow and Moule, referred to above; but according to a study made by Mr. Kadowaki Kiyoshi, a translation published by the Baptist mission appeared the year before this. The relation between the two publications is not clear.) [The copy owned by the American Bible Society is dated 1900 both in Japanese and English.]

(3) Later Translations By Individuals

Among the more recent translations of the Bible by individuals may be mentioned the 'New Testament' translated by Mr. Nagai Naoji and issued in April, 1928. This is based upon F. Scrivener's revision of the third edition of Robert Stephanus' Greek New Testament, compared with the researches of other scholars, and represents the fruit of Mr. Nagai's labors for a period of twenty years.

In the same year the publication of Mr. Uesawa Kenji's "Children's Bible" was begun. This was prepared by re-writing the revised New Testament to make it easily understood by children. In the following year the publication was made of Mr. Yamaya Seigo's colloquial translations "The New Testament: A New Translation, with Explanations." At the end of 1929 the first volume, comprising I & II Thessalonians and Galatians was issued, and in 1931 and 1932 I & II Corinthians followed.

Two translations of the 'Song of Solomon', one by Prof. Doi Kōchi of the Tōhoku Imperial University, and the other by Mr. Yuasa Kichirō, are worthy of notice, though for different reasons; but I shall treat of these later. There are also trans-

lations of other single books of the Bible by Dr. S.H. Wainwright, Mr. Tsukamoto Toraji, Prof. Matsumoto Takuo of Aoyama Gakuin, and Rev. Takayanagi Isaburō, each being a distinctive experiment.

Next I shall introduce a portion of Mr. Tsukamoto's translation, which appeared in his magazine, "Bible Knowledge", No. 53 (May, 1935), namely, his translation of the "Beatitudes" in Matthew. The parenthesized insertions are the translator's explanatory amplifications:

"Jesus seeing the (large) crowds (following him) climbed up the hill, and (there) when he had sat down, his disciples came to him. He opened his mouth and began to teach them (thus):

The happy are the spiritually poor (who cannot live without God's help), for the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs.

The happy are the people who are grieving (for the sake of righteousness), for (at the last day) they are the ones who will be comforted (by God).

The happy are the gentle, for (at the last day) they are the ones who will inherit (this) land.

The happy are the people who are hungering and thirsting for righteousness (as they seek for it), for (at the last day) they are the ones who will be satisfied (by God).

The happy are the people of deep compassion, for (at the last day) they are the ones who will receive (God's) compassion.

The happy are those who are pure in heart, for (at the last day) they are the ones who will see God.

The happy are those who create peace on the earth, for (at the last day) they are the ones who will be called 'children of God'.

The happy are those who have been persecuted for the sake of righteousness, for the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs."

Mr. Tsukamoto's New Testament translation work has subsequently been carried steadily forward.

In the next place I shall write of the two translations of the "Song of Solomon" by Mr. Yuasa Kichirō and Prof. Doi which were mentioned above. Mr. Yuasa Kichirō, who has exerted such a strong influence upon the development of poetry of the new style in the Meiji period (1868-1912) with his "Twelve Cenotaphs", had at one time experimented in translating Old Testament poetry; and now, starting out upon a new course and eager to create a new style of Japanese poetry, has contributed to the "Christian Magazine" (Kirisutokyō Zasshi) published by Mr. Yuasa Kōzō in Tokyo), beginning with the first issue, September, 1934, his translation of the "Song of Solomon" from the original Hebrew. His translation is described as an "Anthology of Love Songs" in a revised translation from which the annotations and explanations added by later writers have been excluded. As examples of the style of the translation, the sixth and seventh sections (Ch. 2: 8-15) are reproduced (as published in the "Kirisutokyō Zasshi", Vol. I, No. 3, November, 1934):

The Spring-tide of Love

Section 6:

The Maiden:

- v. 8 Listen, my beloved cometh,
Springing over the mountain peaks,
Dancing over the hill-tops!
9 Behold him, there behind the wall,
Inquiring through the window,
Peeping through the holes of the lattice,
10 My Lover, speaking thus to me:

The Lover:

- Rise, my Sweetheart, quickly arise!
Come forth, my beauteous One!
11 See, the winter has passed,
The rainy season is over, the skies are clear,
The cold has already gone.
12 The fields and hills are decked with flowers,
The green shoots are ready to cut,
The call of the dove is heard.
13 The fruit of the fig tree is reddening,
The grape vines begin to flower,
Sending forth their fragrant perfume.
Rise up, my Sweetheart, my Dove!
14 In the rock-clefts, hidden in the green leaves,
Thou hidest thyself alone, my tame Dove,
Let me hear thy voice and see thy form:
Thy voice is most charming,
Thy face is most lovely!

Notes: This section is in 5-5 melody

- v. 8 "Voice is heard" (in the current version) is incorrect.
"Listen" here is rather "shouting encouragement", not
"hearing one's voice or footsteps".
9 The current version has "My beloved is like a deer; again, like a
fawn", which is an annotation; the word for "wall" is Aramaic.
12 Current version, "the time of the singing of birds" is incorrect:
"in our land" is an annotation.
13 Current version, "Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away" is
a repetition of v. 10. Figs and grapes are symbols of physical
love. Hence, from ancient times, artists have painted fig leaves
to hide nudeness.
14 Literally, "make your voice heard", i.e. "let me hear you".
Literally, "show me thy form", i.e. "let me see thy face".

The Foxes in The Vineyard

Maidens:

15 Catch the foxes for us!
 Catch the little foxes quickly!
 They are ruining the vineyard--
 Just when our vines are in full bloom!

Notes: This section is of 4-5 melody.

 This was a folk-song sung by little girls.

 "foxes": the Hebrew word is also translated "jackals".

 See Judges 15:4. Here "vineyard" means "maidens" and "foxes" means "youths that follow them about".

 Verses 16 and 17 are probably annotations.

Mr. Yuasa's translation as shown in these examples, is made upon the interpretation, in agreement with the majority of modern Bible scholars in Europe and America, that regards the "Song of Solomon" as a "round" or anthology of love lyrics. In his attempt to discriminate between the text of the songs and the annotations, he has referred to the opinions of certain advanced scholars.

I next quote from the translation of the same by Prof. Doi. This translation was published before that of Mr. Yuasa, and the translator, advancing a step further than the view of the folk-song basis of the "Song of Solomon", has attempted, by following out an idea which he acquired from his comparison of the origins of the "Song of Solomon" and the songs of our Noh drama, to show that the theories of the "Song" as drama and as folk-songs may be synthesized, and the structure as a whole set forth. That is, in Prof. Doi's conjecture, "just as the Zen priests of the Muromachi period, contacting the 'Genkyoku', did not compose imitations, but derived pleasure from the stimulus of these songs, and did not concentrate upon polishing up the verses or building up the thought, but freely borrowed the ancient traditions and the verses (as they were), and cleverly composed the dance-centered Noh dramas, so did not the Hebrews, stimulated by the Greek dramas and desiring to have their own dramas but lacking fundamentally the artistic enthusiasm to create them, take the popularly-known tales centering in the dance, and piecing together some twenty such folk-songs, construct this drama?....It is but natural that Western people, who make originality and individuality nearly the whole of literary composition, and have never taken any interest in such a thing as piecing cleverly together the verses of others and forming them into a drama, should regard the 'Song of Solomon' differently than we do. And if my supposition is correct, we Japanese who possess the Noh dramas, have an environment advantageous for comprehending the 'Song of Solomon'. ('Shisō', No. 54, April, 1926) I quote from Prof. Doi's translation made from this view-point, selecting the same sections quoted from Mr. Yuasa's translation:

Second Scene:

(The following morning; the Shulemite in the bridal chamber, believing that her lover is coming to release her.)

The Shulemite:

My lover is coming!
Leaping over the hills,
Skipping over the knolls,
My lover, like to a stag!

My lover! I see him, beyond the wall,
Peeping in at the window,
Pausing before the shutters,
My lover speaks to me:

My dear One, rise up!
My maiden, come!
See, the winter is gone,
The rains have ceased, the sun is bright,
Flowers deck the fields,
The birds are singing,
The ring-dove's note sounds,
The fig tree puts forth its fruit,
The grape-vines are in flower,
Their fragrance wafted on the breeze.

Come, my dear, my dove!
In the rocky glen,
There, under the cliff,
Let me see your face,
Let me hear your voice:
That voice so sweet,
That face so fair!

Songlet, No. 1:

Catch the foxes for us,
Those little foxes trampling down the vines,
Now, when our vineyard is in flower!

Songlet, No. 2:

My love is my very own,
I am my love's own;
I say he tends the sheep among the lilies.

Songlet, No. 3:

The morning breeze blows fresh,
Till the shadows of night pass.
My dear one, come back,
Be like the stag on the twin hills.

Mr. Yuasa, however, regards the last two songs as annotations, belonging to a portion that does not appear in the original text. Prof. Doi has published in 'Shisō', Nos. 55 and 56, (May and June, 1926) a translation of the 'Song of Solomon' regarded as folk-songs. In these articles he has inserted detailed notes which I omit here. In 'Bunka', Vol. I, No. 8 (August, 1934), edited by the Literary Society of the Tōhoku Imperial University, Prof. Doi published an article entitled 'Before Folk-Songs', which was a study of the 'Song of Solomon' and the ancient songs of the 'Kojiki' and their relation to primitive religious festivals.

Still another translation of the 'Song of Solomon', by Mr. Sato Michitsugu, appeared in 'Bungaku Kenkyū', [Literary Research] No. 4 (March, 1934), published by the Law and Literature Departments of the Kyūshū Imperial University. The translator regards the 'Song of Solomon' as a collection of songs sung at weddings in ancient times.

Part V: Bible Translations In The Catholic Church

In 1895 the Gospels of Matthew and Mark were published in Tokyo by the Roman Catholic Church in Japan. The translation was from the Vulgate (the version of St. Jerome). The Japanese assistant in the work of translation was Mr. Takahashi Gorō. In the following year, 1896, the 'Holy Gospels' were published in Tokyo under the imprimatur of Archbishop Peter Maria Ozuf. The printing was in Roman letters parallel with the Latin text. This was followed by the translation of the New Testament made by Father Raguet, a Belgian, with the assistance of Mr. Take Kasazō and others. It was begun in 1905 and published in July, 1910. In this translation the 'Lord's Prayer' is as follows:

Ten ni mashimasu warera no Chichi yo: Negawakuwa Mi Na no sei to seraren koto wo; Mi Kuni no kitaran koto wo; Mi Mune no Ten ni okonawaruru gotoku, chi ni mo okonawaren. Warera no nichiyō no kate wo konnichi warera ni atae tamae. Warera go onore ni oime aru hito wo yurusu gotoku, warera no oime wo mo yurushi tamae. Warera wo kokoromi ni hiki tamau koto naku, kaette aku yori sukui tamae. Amen.

The 'Lord's Prayer' appearing in the Prayer Book of the Roman Catholic Church in our country, always used in the Mass, is said to be a translation from the ancient Latin version, but is practically the same as that in the Raguet version.

In the Greek Orthodox Church in Japan the translation of the New Testament was superintended by Archbishop Nicolai, Mr. Nakai assisting. The first publication was about the year 1897, and subsequently revisions were made. The copy which I possess is one printed in 1917, and is entitled 'New Testament of our Lord Iisusu Harisutosu, translation by the Japan Orthodox Church'. For comparison

with the preceding, I quote the "Lord's Prayer" in this translation:

Ten ni imasu warera no Chichi yo: Negawakuwa Nanji no Na wa sei to serare, Nanji no Kuni wa kitari, Nanji no mune wa Ten ni okonawaruru ga gotoku, chi ni mo okonawaren. Waga nichiyō no kate wo konnichi warera ni atae tamae. Warera ni oime aru mono wo warera yurusu ga gotoku, warera no oime wo yurushi tamae. Warera wo izanai ni michibikazu, nao warera wo kyoaku yori sukui tamae. Kedashi Kuni to Kennō to Kōei wa Nanji ni yo-yo ni kisu. Amen.

The ascription appears at the end of the prayer, though it is omitted from the translation appearing in the "Doctrina Christan" and from the Roman Catholic version, as well as from the Protestant Revised Translation of the Union Translating Committee, the Greek Orthodox Church differing in this respect.

APPENDIX

In the writing of the foregoing history the principal works, other than Bible translations, which I have used for purposes of reference, are the following:

1. 'Encyclopedia of Christianity' by Dr. Takagi Jintarō (published by Keiseisha, Tokyo, 1911): Article, "Japanese Translations of the Bible."
2. 'Kyōkai Jihō': Issues August 4 to September 15, 1922: Articles on the Translation of the New Testament by Prof. Besshō Umenosuke, a series in which the main parts deal with the revision of the New Testament--worthy of attention because they are the record set down by a member of the Committee of Revision. Besides these, in issues of 'Serupan' beginning with that of January, 1934, the same writer's 'Recollections of Bible Translation' appeared; and in his book, 'Kōko no Naka' (pub. by Nichi-Doku Shoin, 1935) he included an account of Bible translation work, which was an amplification of his previous articles. Then, too, Prof. Besshō has charge of the records of the Revision Committee, which are kept in his residence.
3. 'History of Japanese Bible Translation and The Bible Societies' by Rev. K. E. Aurell (American Bible Society, Tokyo, 1926). The contents, for a publication of the Bible Society, are somewhat unsatisfactory.
4. 'Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society' by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule (published from the Bible House, London, 1903-11): Under 'Japanese' and 'Japanese-Luchu'. This is based upon the literary productions in the collection of this society, hence is a dependable work of reference.
5. 'Dōshisha Kōshō Ronsō', Vol. IX, Jan. 1934: Article entitled "Japanese Translations of the Bible made Overseas and in Ryūkyū" by Shigehisa Kotaro: a detailed study of the translations and their foreign translators, with a chronological table of the early introduction of the Bible into Japan, the translations, and researches into the subject.
6. Besides the foregoing works, there is the 'History of the Translations of the Bible into Japanese' projected by Mr. Kadowaki Kiyoshi of the Salvation Army. The first portion, giving the history down to the Goble translation, (mimeographed by the Agape Company, June, 1935) has been sent me by the author. I have sent him the results of my own study (published in 'Bungaku Kenkyū', No. 12) and have corresponded with him. Mr. Kadowaki has continued his research diligently, and has been publishing articles in the Christian press as well as in mimeographed form. I hope that due to his studies the facts in these fields of research may be increasingly brought to light.
7. The most recent contribution comes in the fourth volume of 'Uemura Masahisa and His Times' by Rev. Saba Wataru (Kyōbunkan, 1938). The section entitled 'Matters Concerning the Bible' contains much valuable material on the translations of the Bible.

This section on the History of Bible Translations appeared originally in the "Shingaku Hyoron" (Theological Review) as one of the contributions in honor of Dr. Berry's twenty-fifth anniversary. This article was subsequently edited and included in the extra volume of Dr. Takagi's "Encyclopedia of Christianity" (Revision published in May, 1934) under the title "Japanese Translations of the Bible". Again, corrected and amplified with material newly come to light, it was published in "Bungaku Kenkyū", No. 12 (July, 1935) of the Department of Law and Literature of the Kyūshū Imperial University. Still further enlarged, it is as it appears in the present work. During this period of writing the following individuals have rendered me assistance: Professors Ichikawa and Saitō of Tokyo Imperial University, Professor Osawa of Kyūshū Imperial University, Professors Besshō, Matsumoto, and Hiyane of Aoyama Gakuin, Professor Fukutomi of Kantō Gakuin, and Reverend Takayanagi Isaburo; and to them I desire to express my thanks.

The inclusion in this section of many photographs from the collection of the Nanasōji Kai was made possible by the privilege accorded me of borrowing a portion of the exhibit sent by the Society to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Fukuoka Church. The translations made by the members of the Bible Translation Committee, together with other contributions concerning the Japanese Bible translations, are in the keeping of Professors Ichikawa and Saitō.

According to the "Tokyo Asahi Shimbun" of August 18, 1938, Vice-president Fred Goodsell of the American Board in Boston, then on his way to attend the Madras Conference, has brought to our country a copy of Gützlaff's translation of the Gospel of John (See pp. 3-5). This copy is one of two which were in the library of the American Board, and has been presented to Doshisha University. This memorable event has also been recorded in the August 23, 1938, issue of the "Christian News". According to Prof. Shigehisa Kōtarō of Dōshisha, on the cover of this copy there is inscribed with a pen: "Gospel of John in Japanese; translated by Mr. Gutzlaff; printed at Singapore, May, 1837"; and on the back cover, "Gospel of John in Japanese. By Gützlaff. Rvd. Oct. 23, 1837."

ADDENDA

The entire translation of the Gospel of John by Gützlaff was printed in the "Kirisutokyō Kenkyū" (Vol. 16, No. 1, published October 15, 1938), the magazine of the Kirisutokyō Kenkyukai of the Theological Department of Doshisha University, with explanatory headings furnished by Prof. Shigehisa Kōtarō. Of the copies extant in Japan I have noted the locations on page 4; abroad, besides the copy in the library of the American Board in Boston, Prof. Shigehisa states that there are copies in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, the British Museum, the People's Library of Paris, and the library of the American Bible Society in New York. We may, with Prof. Shigehisa, surmise that besides these there are other copies in existence. In Vol. II, No. 9 (published October 10, 1938) of "Kaika", published by the Aishokai of Kyoto, Prof. Shigehisa has written in regard to Gützlaff's translations of John's Epistles. As he states, this article is based upon the researches of Dr. Niimura.

A reprint of Goble's translation of the Gospel of Matthew (see pp. 15-17) limited to 200 copies, together with a separate "Chronicle of Incidents", was published on November 1, 1938, by the Bureau of Ancient Scripture Translations of the Ueda Bunkō. The project of this reprint was made possible by the co-operation of Mr. Ueda Teijiro and Mr. Kadowaki Kiyoshi of the Salvation Army, assisted by Prof. Takaya Michio of Kantō Gakuin, Yokohama. The original of the reprint is the copy in the possession of Mr. Sumiya Misaburo.

On page 10 I referred to the example of early hymn translation by Goble. However, in the "Chronicle of Incidents" just mentioned, Prof. Takaya, in the traditions of Goble edited by him and included in the "Chronicle", has inserted a letter written by Goble in the last years of his life (1893) to Professor A. A. Bennett of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Yokohama, in which a slightly variant form of the same hymn appears. Mr. Goble states that the translation was made not long after he had begun the study of Japanese; that he did not consider it suitable for congregational use; and that he had never offered it for such use. In the letter the first verse only appears, beginning:

"Yoi tci (tochi) gozarimasu,
Taisō empō;
Seijin Yeiyo tatsu".

The other two verses, he stated, he had forgotten. However, we may surmise that Mr. Goble himself made slight changes in his trial translations, and that also, later on, when the translation became known to members of the church, additional touches were made by other hands.